

Martin Sherwin: Legacy of Hiroshima

March 24, 1983

Pessimistic message:

Seamless web of nuclear culture;

[Nuclear World View: Weltanschauung]

Legacies of Hiroshima: 1) deterrence

2) diplomacy

3) war-fighting

Det: First: to prevent nuclear attack on US. [1945-49?]

Second: to prevent any attack against any American "ally" (China).

> First?

Dip:

— the threat in Korea...

— to control policies of a hostile state

(by having ability to threaten).

War-fighting: (Kept under the surface — till now.

Preventive war:

limited nuclear war

protracted " " "

(Who accepted Brodie's formulation in '40's: to prevent war, not to win the: chief purpose of our military establishment.

Assumption: It is the job of the military to prevent wars.

Sherwin: Strat. of deterrence is an ism — Deterrence-ism — that makes it possible for others — scientists, strategists,

to

Det: "I can do unto you whatever you do unto me, even after you do it."

"I can destroy you even after you destroy me."

[me, to Michael!]

Any nation that puts national pride ahead

^{this}
In era, there is a temptation to flirt with irrationality
(Postons, Reagan) to gain limited advantages in local wars.

- No recovery from consequences of error.

(One "failure" cancels out all prior advantages of
det? forestation (fours' strategy 'worked' earlier?)

Center asked Brown to study reducing nucs from thousands to
hundreds: left officer having approval: MX, P, CM, N, PD-59 (Gen, Me, 80 dol), Trident.
^{in 4 years}
His experience is a microcosm of US experience for 1945 - on.

- "Preparedness" 30 minutes from now (not, 6 mos to 2 years from now)
P - 6 mi.

- Munich - appeasement.

[How much dest inadequate production + armament
contributed to WW II?]

- Wilsonianism: a stable world order organized on American
principles.

- "How to deal with American lack of enthusiasm for projecting
American power abroad - and still, do it?"

US monopoly of nucs approval to solve this problem.
later, superiority.

[Real question: What does decision-making

Why was bomb built?

1939-42, $2\frac{1}{2}$ years: no one saw a way to build bomb quickly enough to use in war. ... no production urgency.

Then, 2 engin^s saw a way to do it — build a bomb within 2-3 years. ... fall '42.

Sense of panic, given 2½ "lost" years — Germans must be ahead.

By fall '42, it was clear allies would win the war; Stalingrad, Midway.

the question was, the price of victory ...

UNLESS (scientists' warning): "the Germans get the bomb first ... then, everything could be reversed; by "ultimate weapon" (1943):

Thus, FDR, Churchill, Kennell... came to see Bomb as major diplomatic card after war.

Then asked: "Was bomb necessary to use against Japan?"

2 FDR legations: wartime use; postwar diplomacy. There merged under HST.

It was not dropped because there was no attractive way to end the war before invasion of 1945.

HST deemed it politically disastrous to abandon unconditional surrender; diplomatically disastrous to rely on SU entry.

Given the nuclear options, alternatives looked less desirable; ending the war with the bomb was preferable, given bonuses of postwar dip.

Why a city? "Psych effect" emphasized. [Terror]

3 weapons could not cripple;

1 bomb — 1 plane — 1 city (destroyed) — 1 minute.

→ Kyoto as ideal target! (nations on 3 sides).

Shock effect, in Tokyo + Moscow.

> Shock value still motivates Reagan
o [terror]

3

R 3 "What we have here is a superior technology":
[given 'optimal irrationality'; optimal/usable madness.]
(see his latest speech yesterday: Star Wars defenses.
tech. fix).

4

Reagan: 'Containment' of SU [since 1917] + of Com influence + doctrine:
1 * Alter Sov. gov; bring Kennedy back. [of com blockade + an war]
2 * Keep Sov borders from expanding.
3 Keep Com out of industrialized world. [CA, finances --- also, NATO are strict]
4 * " " " " TW.

* 2)
- R believes: threat of nuc has kept SU out of ^{west} Subi + Mex.

4) R believes nuc can do this - this drives nuc war. (will?)

* 1) R believes Sovs can't keep up with race for superiority;
+ with superiority in tech, nuc blackmail works.

Reagan
believes:

"The party that has the least interest in maintaining a
relationship, or keeping peace/avoiding conflict, will
control bargaining in relationship. (husband/wife,
[R aims to achieve/claim less interest... nations...])

Aim: in exchange for nuc arms agreement, SU is to give
up support for wars of national liberation.

[see VN;

NAR: US tech sup. + doctrine can compensate for

"(SU) greater willingness to risk war."

Q:

(How do R Iran understand that M/C let SU get ahead of us? (Answer: the VN War, let Sovs pull up with us.

[* Previous Admin wanted to use threats covertly, intermittently, for limited, desperate ends; (they did not regret or repudiate threats! or, here, war-fighting. R people want to rely on it more, more openly...

"That's why Nife turned against VN; limited resources, cost too much."

(Schwartz)

(Also, technology? Not ready for super-accuracy earlier; CF costs too much without it.)

Z [

} Skerwin: "I have no illusion about SU - I don't think Richard Allen would say I do..."

»»»» ... US has already been initiator ... chickens have come home to roost - SU now wants also...

But: - we have a stronger psych counter to approach

- they have stronger sense of risks of war, impact, escalation...

(we have lost 1 mill. in all wars; never

have been bombed, invaded... USAF/WWII; SAC; monopoly...

[Why ~~do~~ ^{do} Mexico and Canada have little reason to fear US invasion, attack, occupation?

"Because we already own them"? (Earlin?)

Already Finlandized?

- Compare to SU and West Europe.

(Carter: American system (e.g. WH-Congress relations) works better when relations are bad with the SU.

(Carter: "I get on better with Congress when relations are worse with SU.")

an hour; consensus;

Goldmit: Pipes really thinks that everything bad in SU goes back ~~to~~ in Russian history, 14th century...

"I can't believe he believes SU system is about to change radically under pressure."

(Jerry Agraal, at RAND:

"After WWII, Stalin dismantled MIC - explosives, etc. (nuclear).
It began to be recreated in 1948. ^{why?} (JA: Was this fear of
US reaction to (planned) SU test of A-bomb in 1949?"

RZ: If R thinks of a change in SU, it would be a desire for a Kolchak, not Kerensky.

Pipes: Vs. Solzhenitsyn, who sees everything bad in SU as due to
Marxism, which in turn is caused by 18th century secularism.

RZ: Both USG + SU now needs to maintain image of
SU as a highly ideological regime - behind of ^{about} no one
else.

Shrum: "The most ideological regime in the world
today is the USG.

This new look was a security, crisis program,
reflecting belief that "money matters." (unlike war-time).

on "Kolebka":

[Could it be that R. Aden seeks to bring about a military regime in SU - as in Poland? - It is likely this would be less risk-taking, less expansionist, more realistic/realpolitik, easier to deal with.

This seems a much more likely result of an arms race than with

- 1) a choice of better over guns
- 2) "giving up, getting over, signing unbalanced agreement.
- 3) collapsing as regime, civil war.



]

How do we regard / see the Soviets?

]

e.g. ? 1) as a Nazi regime armed with nuclears, with which, therefore, we must accommodate, coexist,

Shinn: R Admin as primarily ideological.

Scott: Does not R Admin see itself as presiding over a world capitalist system in great disarray - Brazil, Mexico, etc. near default - and that it is necessary to re-militarize our own and other societies, so as to establish tighter control over certain areas?

i.e. 'ideology is instrumental, "era-appropriate."

(cf. 1950-51.)

DE: Kennan's 'Long Telegram' described SU in the way that Hitler's regime came to be understood after Munich: "driven to expansion by internal factors." Response was not theoretical: "we know how to deal with that - we have just done that," kind through WWII, and won: and experienced how (well) the "American system" worked during WWII:

[Are there "alternatives to the Cold War" that serve the interests of ~~the~~ narrow, or broad US elites / RC - i.e. that do not require basic changes in capitalist or class or state system? see Kennan/Bodley, "East-West Accord" group; Kipperman... Toft...

Zelinski: every one of Low species (GT Robinson, Kennan, Bodley, -, -, -,) is very anti-Soviet; yet come to believe that military CW is not the right way to live with Soviets.

It seems to be possible to be critical of Sov system without subscribing to CW.

Barbara: One can dislike Sov system as

Kenyan 1) suppressing civil rights in SU

2) dominating East Eur

3) supporting national liber movements

4) controlling CPs in West Eur (?)

(5) aiming at world domination: military, subversion...

[Hyp:

Skerrin: There are things that are known to experts about SU, and US/SU relations, that could be made known to

e.g. Stalin kept his word; breaking of treaties (cf. Rusher; verification)
Verif. capability; US/SU role in arms race;

(Left intellectuals tend to sound "apologetic" about

here

(a) SU domination of East Eur.,

(c) ~~(b)~~ SU oppression in SU

(3) (d) lack of democracy in revolutionary regimes in TW.

- (lack of concept of "socialist/revolutionary class system, oppression, exploitation, and militarism and imperialism (i.e. sexism, racism).

- lack of theories: what factors lead to (military) expansion: what internal systems lead to it, what do not?

Scott: used to understand intellectual matrix out of which movements and policies evolved - not just (Schultz)

or, Kirkpatrick
Popular: (3) Capitalism (US-style) does not; Nazi + Soviet totalitarianism does; some right-wing "authoritarian" systems do not. (Korten, 1971:1)

(b) Left: SU is an "authoritarian" regime by this standard; Nazis, yes; US, yes!

Schwartz: Joe Nye said, 2 years ago: Non-proliferation
regime works; it doesn't prevent others from getting
bombs, but it slows down process so it doesn't
get unmanageable.

HAK

FBI

penetration informants

Canada "disturbed"

subject is like: Christian, good neighbor good ally...

Utah - Nevada - giant sponge

DXSM

relatively unpopulated...

IVAK

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penetration... informants

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